



**FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY
WASHINGTON**

June 27, 1985

DIRECTOR

FYI
OK
Honorable John N. McMahon
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Mr. McMahon: *John*

In continuation of our recent phone call on the George Bush advisory committee, I have taken the liberty of sending this to you to read and possibly pass to Vice President Bush.

I thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Louis O. Giuffrida *[Signature]*

Enclosure

Executive Registry

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Federal Emergency Management Agency

Washington, D.C. 20472

HOW CAN TERRORISM BE STOPPED: THE DOMESTIC FRONT

REMARKS BY

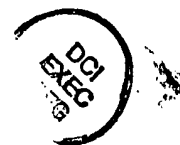
THE HONORABLE LOUIS O. GIUFFRIDA

DIRECTOR

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

NUCLEAR CONTROL INSTITUTE

"INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: THE NUCLEAR DIMENSION"
JUNE 25, 1985



L-315

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

FIRST, SOME COMMENTS ON WHICH WE CAN ALL AGREE: 1) ONCE TERRORISM STARTS, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT IT CAN BE SATISFACTORILY STOPPED, EVEN WITH MASSIVE USE OF SECURITY FORCES, E.G., NORTHERN IRELAND; AND 2) IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PROTECT EVERYONE AND EVERYTHING FROM A TERRORIST ATTACK.

HISTORICALLY, EVERY SOCIETY HAS VIEWED FORCE--WHICH IN THIS CONTEXT IS SYNONYMOUS WITH VIOLENCE--IN RELATIVE TERMS; I.E., FROM ITS OWN PECULIAR PERSPECTIVE. SOME USE OF VIOLENCE IS DECREED AS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE THAT SOCIETY AND IS IPSO FACTO "LEGITIMATE." ALL OTHER VIOLENCE IS DECLARED "ILLEGITIMATE." THE SOCIETY THEN ASSUMES A MONOPOLY ON THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND CREATES INSTRUMENTALITIES SUCH AS ARMIES AND POLICE TO APPLY THAT VIOLENCE. HISTORICALLY, TOO, SOCIETIES HAVE LONGED FOR AN ENVIRONMENT TOTALLY FREE OF ANY ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE. THE HARSH REALITY IS THAT WE CANNOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS! THE ONLY WAY A SOCIETY CAN ATTEMPT TO TOTALLY ELIMINATE ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE BY ITS OWN DEFINITION OF "ILLEGITIMATE" IS TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF LEGITIMATE VIOLENCE TO SUCH A POINT THAT IT COMPLETELY OBTUATES ANY SEMBLANCE OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. HITLER'S ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE, BY HIS DEFINITION OF "ILLEGITIMATE," BROUGHT FORTH THE GESTAPO WHICH WIELDED ITS WEAPONS OF TERROR AGAINST NON-GERMANS AND GERMANS WITH EQUAL VIGOR AND BRUTALITY.

IT SEEMS TO ME WE SHOULD STOP TRYING TO ACHIEVE THE IMPOSSIBLE AND PUT OUR COMBINED EFFORTS INTO TRYING TO DEFINE THE MAXIMUM LEVEL OF

ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE WE CAN TOLERATE AND STILL REMAIN A FREE SOCIETY, EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO UNIVERSAL DEFINITION OF WHEN PEACEFUL DISSENT CEASES AND UNACCEPTABLE, DELIBERATE VIOLATION OF THE LAW COMMENCES.

IN PLANNING A DEFENSE FOR SOCIETY AGAINST TERROR OF VARIOUS KINDS, IT IS IMPORTANT TO GET AT LEAST A CONSENSUS DEFINITION OF WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO COMBAT. THERE MUST BE POINTS OF COMMON AGREEMENT AND A COMMON VOCABULARY.

I ACCEPT, FOR THIS PURPOSE, THAT TERRORISM CAN BE GENERALLY AND USEFULLY DEFINED AS ORGANIZED, ILLEGITIMATE VIOLENCE AIMED TO ACHIEVE SOME SPECIFIC CHANGE; FOR EXAMPLE, A POLITICAL CHANGE. I AGREE THAT THE INTENDED TARGET IS NOT NECESSARILY THE VICTIM OF THE VIOLENCE. THIS DEFINITION INCLUDES THE "DELIBERATE AND SYSTEMATIC" ELEMENTS OF THE DEFINITION USED BY SENATOR SCOOP JACKSON IN JERUSALEM IN 1979.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE SUFFERED UNCERTAINTY AND LACK OF DIRECTION PRIMARILY BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO BUILD A COMMON VOCABULARY SO THAT THE TERMINOLOGY OF TERRORISM IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. ADDITIONALLY, THE UNITED STATES SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE GROWING FREQUENCY OF TERRORIST ACTS IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR SOME YEARS PRIOR TO 1974, ONE COULD SENSE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES A GENERAL ATTITUDE THAT "TERRORISM ONLY HAPPENS IN BACKWARD COUNTRIES OR IN EUROPE OR IN LATIN AMERICA, BUT CERTAINLY NOT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES." WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT THE GENERAL POPULATION WAS UNDER THE ILLUSION THAT WE AMERICANS ARE IMMUNE FROM THIS PROBLEM.

WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR FREEDOMS, THEN, WE MUST COME UP WITH A MORE SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF TERRORISM BASED ON OUR LAWS AND TRADITIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE CAN AGREE THAT DISSENTERS ARE NOT NECESSARILY TERRORISTS. FREE PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO PEACEFUL DISSENT, AND WE MUST ALL JEALOUSLY GUARD THAT RIGHT. I BELIEVE THAT IF ANY GROUP IS DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT OF LAWFUL, PEACEFUL DISSENT, THEN WE ARE ALL DEPRIVED OF THAT RIGHT. SOCIAL MECHANISMS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE MUST BE PRESERVED. THIS IS ONE OF OUR STRENGTHS. IT MAKES TERRORISM LESS LIKELY.

IN ARRIVING AT THIS DIFFICULT BALANCE, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE UNDERSTAND WHAT A TERRORIST IS--AND IS NOT! THE ABILITY OF THE MEDIA TO BE BOTH INFORMED AND OBJECTIVE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN EDUCATING THE PUBLIC SO THAT LEGAL AND ACCEPTABLE GOVERNMENTAL AND SOCIETAL ACTIONS CAN BE CARRIED OUT. THERE ARE THOSE WHO HAVE SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE OBJECTIVITY AND DEPTH OF KNOWLEDGE OF SOME OF THE MEDIA, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT COMES TO TERRORISTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WERE TWO SYBIONESE LIBERATION ARMIES (SLA's): ONE CREATED BY THE MEDIA AND THE OTHER, THE REAL SLA. THE MEDIA VERSION WAS AN ACTUAL ARMY WITH A NATIONWIDE INFRASTRUCTURE, LED BY SOCIAL AND MILITARY EXPERTS WHO SEEMED TO MATERIALIZE FROM THIN AIR! THE ENTIRE WORLD WAS INUNDATED WITH ALMOST HOURLY ACCOUNTS OF THIS SO-CALLED ARMY. THEY WERE TOO FREQUENTLY PORTRAYED AS AN ESSENTIALLY BENEVOLENT GROUP OF HUMANISTS PRESUMABLY DRIVEN TO VIOLENT AND DESPERATE MEASURES BY AN INSENSITIVE AND OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT. THEY WERE PORTRAYED AS THE "GOOD GUYS" IN FAR TOO MANY ACCOUNTS. THEN, THERE WAS THE REAL SLA: A GROUP OF CRIMINAL MISFITS

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TOTALLY DEVOID OF ANY SEMBLANCE OF LEGITIMACY. THEY WERE BANK ROBBERS, CAR THIEVES, AND SHOPLIFTERS WHO "DELIBERATELY AND SYSTEMATICALLY" SET OUT MENACING THE INNOCENT TO GAIN THEIR ILL-DEFINED POLITICAL ENDS. EVEN TODAY THERE ARE THOSE WHO EULOGIZE THE SLA AS "FOLK HEROES!"

THOUGH DOMESTICALLY THE UNITED STATES APPEARS RELATIVELY FREE OF THE INTERNATIONAL UPWARD TREND IN TERRORIST ACTS SO FAR, IT IS NOT BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD ORGANIZED PROGRAMS TO PREVENT IT. THERE HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE AWARENESS OF DOMESTIC TERRORIST INCIDENTS.

TERRORIST BOMBINGS ARE TYPICAL OF THE EVENTS WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS EXPERIENCED SO FAR. THEY ARE ISOLATED, ATTENTION-GETTING, AND MAKE USE OF CONVENTIONAL TECHNOLOGY. WE CANNOT, AND SHOULD NOT, COUNT ON THE CURRENT ESSENTIALLY UNCOORDINATED TERROR METHODOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES CONTINUING INDEFINITELY INTO THE FUTURE.

REALISTICALLY, THE UNITED STATES IS EXTREMELY VULNERABLE TO THE CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND TACTICS OF TERRORISM. OUR HIGHLY INTERCONNECTED INFRASTRUCTURE SYSTEMS--POWER SUPPLY NETWORKS, NATURAL GAS AND PETROLEUM PIPELINES, NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS, WATER SUPPLY SYSTEMS, THE TELEPHONE NETWORK, AND OTHERS--CONTAIN CHOKE POINTS WHICH CANNOT ALL BE DEFENDED SIMULTANEOUSLY AGAINST SITE ATTACKS BY HIGHLY MOTIVATED AND WELL ARMED TERRORISTS. THE INCREASING RELIANCE ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS, DESIGNED MORE FOR EFFICIENCY THAN FOR EASE OF PROTECTION, SIMPLY INCREASES AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL DISRUPTIONS. THIS IS CLEARLY SHOWN EVEN BY THE FREQUENT UNINTENTIONAL DAMAGING OF PARTS OF THESE SYSTEMS BY PEACETIME DISASTERS.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT TERRORISM IS NOT NEW; IT HAS BEEN WITH US ALL THE TIME, AND ONLY THE DEGREES OF SEVERITY AND OF PUBLIC AWARENESS HAVE VARIED. IT IS ONLY INEVITABLE THAT MORE AND MORE TERRORISM WILL BE STATE SUPPORTED BECAUSE IT IS THE CHEAPEST AND THE LEAST HAZARDOUS WAY TO FIGHT AN UNDECLARED WAR. HOW ELSE COULD A SPONSOR NATION PROVIDE MONEY, TRAINING, AND OTHER SUPPORT WITHIN THE MANTLE OF "NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS" ALMOST TOTALLY FREE OF THE RISK OF MILITARY OR ECONOMIC REPRISALS FROM THE TARGET NATION? FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT YET HAD TO FACE AT HOME HIGHLY ORGANIZED, HIGHLY TRAINED, STATE-SUPPORTED TERRORISTS. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT UNTIL NOW THIS COULD BE EXPLAINED AT LEAST IN PART BY THE EXISTENCE OF RELATIVEY EASY TARGETS IN EUROPE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

THIS SITUATION, HOWEVER IS CHANGING. TARGET COUNTRIES LIKE FRANCE, ITALY, WEST GERMANY, AND ENGLAND HAVE BECOME TOUGHER AND BETTER AT DEALING WITH TERRORISM; THEY CAN NO LONGER BE CALLED "EASY." IT STANDS TO REASON, THEN, THAT TERRORISTS WILL LOOK FOR NEW TARGETS THAT ARE NOT AS WELL PREPARED TO DEAL WITH THEM. THE UNITED STATES, UNFORTUNATELY, AUTOMATICALLY BECOMES A VERY ATTRACTIVE TARGET.

THE MODERN WORLD HAS BEEN FORTUNATE THAT IT HAS EXPERIENCED NO SUCCESSFUL NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, OR CHEMICAL TERRORIST INCIDENT. EXPERTS DISAGREE ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH A THIRD-WORLD COUNTRY OR PRIVATE TERRORIST GROUP MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONSTRUCT A NUCLEAR DEVICE WHICH COULD BE USED CONVINCINGLY TO MAKE DEMANDS. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, HOWEVER, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE TO ASSUME A WORST CASE SITUATION IN THEIR PLANNING.

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THE EXPERTS DO AGREE THAT CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ARE WELL WITHIN THE TECHNICAL CAPABILITY OF THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES OR PRIVATE TERRORIST GROUPS. TO GIVE AN IDEA OF THESE THREATS, LET ME COMPARE THE WEIGHT OF VARIOUS AGENTS NEEDED TO PRODUCE HEAVY CASUALTIES IN A SQUARE MILE AREA UNDER IDEALIZED CONDITIONS. TO PRODUCE ABOUT THE SAME NUMBER OF DEATHS IN THAT SQUARE MILE, IT WOULD TAKE ABOUT 32 MILLION GRAMS OF FRAGMENTATION CLUSTER BOMB MATERIAL; 3,200,000 GRAMS OF MUSTARD GAS; 800,000 GRAMS OF NERVE GAS; 5,000 GRAMS OF MATERIAL IN A CRUDE NUCLEAR FISSION WEAPON; 80 GRAMS OF BOTULINAL TOXIN TYPE A; AND, ONLY 8 GRAMS OF ANTHRAX SPORES.

A GOVERNMENT FACING A TERRORIST THREAT MUST FIND A SOLUTION WHICH IS NOT ONLY EFFECTIVE BUT ALSO ACCEPTABLE. WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE "INSTANT PROBLEM-INSTANT SOLUTION" ORIENTED. THIS NATIONAL CHARACTERISTIC HAS ALWAYS MADE US MORE INCLINED TO BE REACTIVE RATHER THAN PROACTIVE. VIRTUALLY EVERYTHING OUR GOVERNMENT DOES IS CONCEIVED AND DEBATED IN CONFORMANCE WITH "SUNSHINE LAWS." WHEN ONE FACTORS IN POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND FIERCELY PROTECTED DOMAIN, THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LONG-TERM, FEDERALLY DIRECTED ANTI-TERRORISM STRATEGIC PLAN WHICH IS BOTH EFFECTIVE AND ACCEPTABLE BECOMES DIFFICULT INDEED!

NEVERTHELESS, IT IS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THE NECESSARY COMPONENTS OF A COUNTERTERRORISM PROGRAM.

THE STRATEGIC PLAN MUST DEAL WITH EVERY FACET OF COMBATTING TERRORISM: LEGAL, OPERATIONAL, BUDGETARY, AND ADMINISTRATIVE. IT MUST CONSIDER NOT ONLY GOVERNMENT AT EVERY LEVEL, BUT ALSO THE PUBLIC, THE PRIVATE SECTOR, THE MEDIA, AND THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. FURTHERMORE, THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE PERCEIVED AS DRAMATICALLY CHANGING ITS NORMAL EMERGENCY RESPONSE FUNCTIONS IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM, ELSE THE TERRORISTS' CLAIMED ABILITY TO DISRUPT GOVERNMENT WILL BE GIVEN UNDESERVED CREDIBILITY.

THE GOALS OF COUNTERTERRORISM MUST BE:

1. To SECURE CONTINUOUS INTELLIGENCE ON TERRORISTS GROUPS;
 2. To IDENTIFY AND ISOLATE TERRORIST GROUPS AND PREVENT TERRORIST ACTIONS BY DENYING THEM FOOD, MONEY, SHELTER, WEAPONS, MEDICAL TREATMENT, ETC.; AND
 3. To CAPTURE AND BRING TO TRIAL THE TERRORIST LEADERS.
- WITHOUT LEADERS, TERRORIST GROUPS ARE MORE LIKELY TO SPLINTER AND BECOME LESS EFFECTIVE.

NO COUNTERTERRORISM PROGRAM CAN HOPE TO SUCCEED WITHOUT DETAILED, COORDINATED PLANNING. THE BRUNT OF COUNTERACTION MUST FALL ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ON THE MILITARY, BUT MANY OTHER AGENCIES WILL ALSO BE INVOLVED; E.G., THE BORDER PATROL, THE COAST GUARD, ETC. THERE MUST BE ONE BOSS WITH THE POWER TO IMPOSE AN APPROPRIATE PLAN ON ALL THE AGENCIES CONCERNED. AT THE VERY MINIMUM, THERE MUST BE A COMMON STRATEGY AND A CLEAR DELINEATION OF AGENCY RESPONSIBILITIES. THERE HAS TO BE A CONTINUOUS, TRUE DIALOGUE AMONG THE AGENCIES INVOLVED.

THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND THAT WE HAVE THE MEN, THE MATERIALS, THE SKILLS, AND THE COURAGE TO ASSEMBLE A SPECIAL RESPONSE FORCE. OUR BIGGEST DEFICIENCY HAS BEEN THE LACK OF INTELLIGENCE. I DO NOT MINIMIZE THE DANGERS IMPLICIT IN RE-ASSESSING TRADITIONAL LEGAL SAFEGUARDS OR IN RESTRICTING LIBERTIES. I AM ALSO VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTY IN TRYING TO GET LESS GLAMOROUS OR POLITICIZED REPORTING OF TERRORIST ACTS. BUT, FUNDAMENTAL TO ANY CHANCE FOR SUCCESS IS THE NECESSITY FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT ALL OF OUR PLANNING AND ALL OF OUR POTENTIAL FOR ANTI-TERRORISM RESPONSE WHICH WILL BE BOTH EFFECTIVE AND ACCEPTABLE IS TOTALLY DEPENDENT UPON A CONTINUUM OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION THAT CAN BE CLEARLY UTILIZED BY ALL THE AGENCIES WHICH HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PLAN FOR AND TO RESPOND TO ACTS OF TERRORISM. INTELLIGENCE GATHERED BY SEPARATE AGENCIES MUST BE CENTRALLY EVALUATED AND MUST INCLUDE A RETRIEVAL SYSTEM SO THAT THE INTELLIGENCE CAN BE MADE READILY AVAILABLE TO THOSE WHO NEED IT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR DUTIES. INTELLIGENCE HAS TO INCLUDE DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF ACTIVE TERRORISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. THE SECURITY FORCES MUST HAVE VALID INTELLIGENCE TO BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY COMMAND STRUCTURES OF TERRORISTS GROUPS. THE COMPUTER SCIENCES CAN GREATLY ENHANCE THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS AND, PROPERLY AND LEGALLY MANAGED, CAN BE UTILIZED WITHOUT FLAGRANT DISREGARD FOR PERSONAL LIBERTIES.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN HANDLE ACTS OF CONVENTIONAL TERRORISM SUCH AS BOMBS OR DISRUPTIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS OR POWER SYSTEMS. I AM NOT CONFIDENT ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL AGENTS. IT SEEMS TO ME OUR BEST DEFENSE AGAINST THIS TYPE OF ASSAULT IS THE ABILITY OF OUR INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO IDENTIFY THOSE TERRORISTS WHO COULD AND

WOULD USE SUCH TECHNIQUES AND TO KEEP FULLY INFORMED AS TO THEIR WHEREABOUTS, INTENTIONS, AFFILIATIONS, ETC. KNOWING WHO OUR POTENTIAL ENEMIES ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING IS FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR SURVIVAL. ACQUIRING AND UTILIZING THIS ESSENTIAL INTELLIGENCE AND MAINTAINING OUR FREE SOCIETY NEED NOT BE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE.

NO SPECIAL REACTION FORCE OR MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AGENCIES CAN REPLACE RELIABLE INTELLIGENCE. IN FACT, THE LACK OF GOOD INTELLIGENCE IS WHAT CAUSES RELIANCE ON SUCH THINGS AS BAGGAGE CHECKS, ROADBLOCKS, BODY SEARCHES, ETC. ANY OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS WOULD SHOW THAT REMOVING SOME OF THE RESTRICTIONS ON INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS WOULD BE FAR MORE EFFECTIVE IN TERMS OF IDENTIFYING TERRORISTS. NOT ONLY IS INTELLIGENCE ESSENTIAL FOR ANY PREVENTIVE MEASURES, IT IS ALSO REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL RESCUE ATTEMPTS OR HOSTAGE SITUATIONS.

AT SOME POINT, WE NEED TO DECIDE WHAT CONCESSIONS WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN TO MEASURE WHAT KIND OF EMERGENCY SERVICES WE WOULD NEED TO SURVIVE THE RESULTS OF A TERRORIST ACTION. THIS TYPE OF DECISION ABSOLUTELY REQUIRES AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT (AND, INCIDENTALLY, ALSO TO THE TERRORIST) AND A DEFENSIBLE, UNEMOTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE PHYSICAL RESULTS OF A TERRORIST ACT. THIS IS TRUE WHETHER WE ARE CONSIDERING CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS OR WHETHER WE'RE CONSIDERING MASS TERRORISM THROUGH THE USE OF NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL, OR CHEMICAL DEVICES. THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY TERRORIST WEAPONS IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE TERRORIST'S SELECTION OF TARGETS. FOR EXAMPLE, A HEAT-SEEKING ROCKET WOULD DO RELATIVELY LITTLE DAMAGE TO A GOVERNMENT BUILDING; BUT, THE SAME ROCKET COULD COMPLETELY DESTROY A LOADED 747 AIRCRAFT.

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WE COULD DO MUCH BETTER AT CONTROLLING EXPLOSIVES AND OTHER DEATH-DEALING ITEMS. WE DO NOT REQUIRE USERS OF EXPLOSIVES TO BE CAREFUL ENOUGH IN THEIR STORAGE OF THE ITEMS; THEY CAN BE TOO EASILY STOLEN. WE NEED TO CRITICALLY EXAMINE HOW FAR THE GOVERNMENT IS ENTITLED TO GO IN LIFTING LEGAL SAFEGUARDS SUCH AS SEARCHES, DETENTIONS, ETC.

SINCE THE POLICE WILL INEVITABLY BE INVOLVED, WE SHOULD BE LOOKING HARD AT THEIR READINESS FOR COUNTERTERRORISM ACTIONS. ONE COULD SUGGEST THAT THE SPECIALIZED TRAINING, BOTH TECHNICAL AND ACADEMIC, THAT POLICE HAVE RECEIVED MIGHT BE MORE CRITICAL THAN THE NUMBER OF POLICEMEN WHO RESPOND TO TERRORIST INCIDENTS?

I THINK EVERYONE WILL AGREE THAT THERE IS A CLEARLY IDENTIFIABLE RATIO BETWEEN THE CAPABILITIES OF TERRORISTS AND GOVERNMENT'S POWER TO RESPOND.

THE LIST COULD GO ON, BUT REALLY WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT WE NEED TO LOOK HARD AT OURSELVES AS NATIONS. IN THE PAST AT THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS THERE HAS SOMETIMES BEEN AN UNFORTUNATE AMOUNT OF PAROCHIAL BICKERING BETWEEN AND AMONG THE VARIOUS AGENCIES WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN AND COULD HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVELY INVOLVED IN ADDRESSING THIS TYPE OF EMERGENCY.

LET ME NOW ADDRESS SOME UNIQUE PROBLEMS OF NUCLEAR TERRORISM THAT DEMAND CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT AND EARLY RESOLUTION:

A. THE NATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY ACT MAKES THE FBI RESPONSIBLE FOR MANAGING THE NUCLEAR THREAT/INCIDENT.

B. HOW CAN THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES BE KEPT WELL ADVISED AND STILL ENSURE THAT INFORMATION IS NOT PREMATURELY RELEASED?

C. A CREDIBLE HOAX CAN CAUSE ALMOST AS MUCH SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL, AND OTHER PROBLEMS AS THE REAL THING. THEREFORE, WHO SHOULD HAVE CONTROL OF RELEASE OF INFORMATION (CONFIRMATIONS, DENIAL, ETC.)?

D. ARE WE TALKING ABOUT A POTENTIAL FEDERAL CRIMINAL OFFENSE AND A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PROBLEM OR A STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEM OF HEALTH AND PUBLIC SAFETY?

E. WHAT TAKES PRECEDENCE, CONDUCTING A CLEAN, PROSECUTABLE INVESTIGATION OR ELIMINATING POTENTIAL DANGER TO PUBLIC SAFETY, SHOULD THERE BE A CONFLICT?

F. WHO MAKES PUBLIC HEALTH/SAFETY DECISIONS DURING AN INCIDENT, STATE OFFICIALS OR FEDS (FBI)?

G. WHO PAYS FOR RELOCATION, ETC., IF A DISASTER DOESN'T OCCUR?

THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY (FEMA) HAS THE GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY TO COORDINATE FEDERAL RESPONSES TO ANY EMERGENCY, IRRESPECTIVE OF CAUSE. IN THE UNITED STATES, WE HAD TRADITIONALLY ADDRESSED EMERGENCIES BY TYPE RATHER THAN GENERICALLY. THE CONGRESS WOULD WRITE A SPECIFIC LAW TO ADDRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, EARTHQUAKES OR FLOODS, AND THEN GIVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SEPARATE AGENCIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR IMPLEMENTATION. IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD BE COSTLY AND LESS THAN FULLY EFFECTIVE. FINALLY, 5 YEARS AGO, FEMA WAS CREATED ESSENTIALLY BY LUMPING INTO ONE AGENCY ALL OF THESE PREVIOUSLY AUTONOMOUS OR SEMI-AUTONOMOUS FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

SINCE GOVERNMENTS HAVE ALWAYS HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PROTECTING THEIR CITIZENS, IT FOLLOWS THAT THE CITIZENS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND FROM THEIR GOVERNMENT A PREDICTABLE, EFFECTIVE, COORDINATED, AND ACCEPTABLE RESPONSE TO WHATEVER IMPERILS THE POPULATION. IF ONE WERE TO LIST ALL OF THE DANGERS, NATURAL OR MANMADE, FACING THE UNITED STATES ON A CONTINUING BASIS AND THEN GO ON TO LIST WHAT THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO HAVE IN PLACE IN ORDER TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITY OF PROTECTING THE CITIZENS, HE WOULD LIST FOR EACH TYPE OF EMERGENCY--INCLUDING WAR AND TERRORISM--PRECISELY THE SAME REQUIREMENTS. THE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT DYNAMIC BUT ONLY ORDER OF MAGNITUDE. AN INTEGRATED EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (IEMS) TO ADDRESS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM IS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN BUILDING FOR THE PAST 4 YEARS. ITS DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION HAVE INVOLVED THE EXPENDITURE OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO PROVIDE BETTER COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS, EMERGENCY OPERATING CENTERS (EOC's), TRAINING PROGRAMS, ETC. WE NOW HAVE FOR THE FIRST TIME A NATIONAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (NEMS) IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO INCLUDE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN BOTH THE DESIGN AND THE EXECUTION OF TRAINING PROGRAMS, EXERCISES, AND CONFERENCES. AT FEMA HEADQUARTERS, WE HAVE A VERY LARGE AND SOPHISTICATED EMERGENCY INFORMATION AND COORDINATION CENTER (EICC) WHICH IS CONNECTED WITH ALL OTHER AGENCIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

FEMA IS NOT AN INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING AGENCY AND MAINTAINS NO INTELLIGENCE FILES. WE DEPEND UPON THOSE AGENCIES WHICH HAVE A LEGAL CHARTER TO COLLECT AND DISSEMINATE INTELLIGENCE. HOWEVER, FEMA DOES HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PLAN FOR AND COORDINATE THE FEDERAL RESPONSE TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISTS INCIDENTS. IF A TERRORIST ACT HAD MAJOR

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EFFECTS ON THE POPULACE ANYWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES, FEMA WOULD EXERCISE ITS REGULAR DAY-TO-DAY CHANNELS TO STATE AND LOCAL EMERGENCY MANAGERS, AND TO OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES, TO ASSURE A CONSISTENT AND EFFECTIVE MULTI-JURISDICTIONAL RESPONSE TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE INCIDENT.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT FEMA'S METHOD OF DEALING WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM IS BASICALLY THE SAME AS THE WAY IT DEALS WITH ANY MAJOR EMERGENCY. IT MAKES USE OF EXISTING CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION TO GOVERNMENTS AND EXISTING EMERGENCY MANAGERS, WHICH IT HAS HELPED SUPPORT AND TRAIN ON THE BEST METHODS TO MANAGE ANY LARGE EMERGENCY. WHEN NECESSARY, FEMA HEADQUARTERS IS PREPARED TO SEND OUT TRAINED COORDINATING TEAMS TO ASSIST IN THE RESPONSE AT THE SCENE. THE SAME DOCTRINE UNDERLIES OUR RECENT PUBLICATION OF A "NATIONAL CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR RESPONDING TO CONSEQUENCES OF AN EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION AT SPECIAL EVENTS." THE MOST OBVIOUS SPECIAL EVENTS ARE, OF COURSE, THE OLYMPICS, THE WORLD'S FAIR, AND THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS; BUT, THE PLAN SETS FORTH COORDINATING ARRANGEMENTS FOR ANY KIND OF MAJOR EMERGENCY, NOT JUST A TERRORIST INCIDENT. PREPAREDNESS FOR DISASTERS IS ACCOMPLISHED USING THE INTEGRATED EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (IEMS) PROCESS. THE PHYSICAL CONSEQUENCES AND THE RESPONSE TO THE DISASTER ARE GENERIC IN NATURE; IRRESPECTIVE OF THE PERCIPITATING INCIDENT.

I BELIEVE THAT THE WAY IN WHICH FEMA IS ADDRESSING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES THROUGH ITS STATE-AID PROGRAMS AND AT ITS NATIONAL EMERGENCY TRAINING CENTER (NETC), IS THE MOST LOGICAL WAY FOR THIS NATION TO DEAL WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORISM. THROUGH OUR TRAINING PROGRAMS, WE ARE ELEVATING THE LEVEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS, IMPARTING FACTUAL AND THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE

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TO THOSE WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY IT WILL BE TO ACTUALLY DEAL WITH EMERGENCY SITUATIONS ONCE THEY ARISE. BECAUSE VERY FEW STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE HAD TO DEAL WITH A CREDIBLE TERRORIST THREAT, THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE WHO LOOK UPON TERRORISM AS A PURELY FEDERAL PROBLEM. WHILE NO PART OF THE COUNTRY IS TOTALLY IMMUNE IT IS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY MOST OF THE PROBABLE TARGET STATES AND CITIES AND INCLUDE THEM IN FEDERAL EXERCISES. PROPERLY IMPLEMENTED, THIS TRAINING WILL ENABLE THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO EXERCISE THEIR AUTHORITY, IF REQUIRED, WITH CONSIDERABLY LESS PAROCHIAL DIFFICULTY. IT HAS BEEN OUR EXPERIENCE THAT PROGRAMS AND TRAINING WHICH FIT LOGICALLY INTO OUR INTEGRATED EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM ARE WELL RECEIVED BY CONGRESS AND BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

WHILE I AM NOT SUGGESTING THAT THE UNITED STATES IS FULLY PREPARED TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM, I AM CONVINCED THAT WE ARE MAKING MEASURABLE PROGRESS IN GETTING OUR ACT TOGETHER. THE REAL CHALLENGE FOR US IS TO CONTINUE MAKING PROGRESS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING THE PUBLIC INFORMED AND SUPPORTIVE.